

The Assimilation of Dutch Male Immigrants in a Western Australian Community

*A Replication of Richardson's Study of British Immigrants*¹

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IN 1958 an interview study was carried out by Alan Richardson (1961) on a sample of British immigrants in 'Newtown'.² This study focused on the factors related to their satisfaction with life in Australia, their identification with Australia, and their acculturation to some aspects of the Australian culture. Richardson found that these three spheres of adjustment to life in the new country could be measured independently, and that they could then be combined into an overall scale which provided a score on degree of 'assimilation'. Richardson postulated that there is a modal sequence in the assimilation process in which a certain degree of satisfaction—or rather, a relative absence of dissatisfaction—is required for identification to occur, and a certain degree of identification is required for acculturation to reach a level approaching the standards of the Australian population. This assimilation sequence was given statistical support by an analysis of the scale patterns that were obtained from the subjects. Richardson's major findings can be summarized as follows: (i) there are three identifiable facets of the assimilation process—satisfaction, identification, and acculturation—that occur in a normal order of progression, and (ii) certain factors, such as age, sex, length of residence in Australia, and occupational status, are related to the degree of assimilation on these facets. With some minor exceptions the results applied equally to the male immigrants and their immigrant wives.

This present study reports the application of similar techniques to another immigrant group, the Dutch, living in the same community as the British in the above study. Two serious limitations in previously reported studies of the assimilation of immigrants are the absence of comparative material, and the failure to generalize findings beyond a particular immigrant group (Taft, 1957). However, Richardson's concepts and methods afford some opportunity for generalizing, but they first must be demonstrated to apply to groups other than the British. Some support for their generalizability has already been found in a study of an entirely different group, Hungarian intellectual refugees in Western Australia (Taft and Doczy, in press), but in that study the measures used were not exactly the same as those used by Richardson.

In order to carry out a closer replication of Richardson's study, a parallel interview survey was made on the Dutch in 'Newtown'. These subjects resembled the British in that they were voluntary immigrants of similar occupational and

1. Financial support to meet incidental expenses for travel, material, and typing was generously provided by the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology, New York.

2. I should like to thank Dr Richardson for having made available some of the unpublished data from his study, and for having given his critical comments on this present report.

social background and status and were resident in the same community. The main differences between them were in language, cultural background, and legal nationality.

THE 'NEWTOWN' COMMUNITY

'Newtown' is a town of about 2,500 inhabitants which was created in 1953-54 as a satellite industrial town within convenient distance of the metropolitan area of Perth. It is an unusual community in that it was carefully planned and built in a year, and virtually none of the inhabitants is native to the area. Because of its history, recent migrants to Australia are in the majority and even many of the Australians are immigrants from other states with no relatives or roots of any sort in the region. It is estimated from the 1954 census and from other data such as rate-payers' lists, schools, etc., that the composition is 45 per cent Australian, 35 per cent British immigrants, and 20 per cent other immigrants, half of whom are Dutch. The immigrants nearly all arrived in Australia between 1949 and 1955.

The Dutch Immigrants in 'Newtown'

It is estimated that there are 45 families (embracing 235 individuals) in which both parents are Dutch immigrants. These immigrants are part of a general stream that has brought 120,000 Dutch citizens to Australia in the past 10 years. They typically left the Netherlands in pursuit of a better future for themselves and their families. In 'Newtown' most of the Dutch males are employed in the one large industry, although a few of them are self-employed or unemployed. The members of the Dutch community engage in a good deal of mutual visiting and only a few belong to any formal organizations.³ Dutch organizations include two small religious meetings, a soccer club, and a drama society.

RICHARDSON'S STUDY OF BRITISH IMMIGRANTS

Interviews were conducted with a random sample of husbands and wives in 90 households in which both were immigrants from the United Kingdom. A control group of 45 Australian-born husbands and their Australian-born wives was also interviewed. The interview followed a prepared schedule covering background and life-history data, questions relating to aspects of satisfaction, attitudes towards Australia, present attitudes to and contacts with their home country, frame of reference towards the assimilation process, opinions on social and political questions, and a test of their knowledge and use of Australian slang.

The major finding of this study is described as follows: 'In the first two or three years an immigrant will typically come to feel satisfied with life in his new country. Though many immigrants may stay this way for longer periods, the typical psychological change occurring between the third and sixth year of residence is to become more identified with Australia . . . typically from the sixth year on the husbands are likely to have become more Australian in their ways, i.e. more acculturated' (Richardson, 1961, p. 48). These three facets formed a scale with a reproducibility

3. I am indebted to the two interviewers, B. Mowbray and B. Arens, for providing me with incidental details of life in 'Newtown'. Mr. Arens's information was particularly valuable as he is a Dutch immigrant who had lived for some time in 'Newtown'.

index of .94 and a Jackson P.P.R. index of .80.⁴ On this scale, 21 per cent of the male subjects achieved maximum scores, but for the subjects who had been in Australia for six or more years the figure was 45 per cent. None of the subjects who had been here for less than four years scored the maximum.

The following are some of the factors found to be related to these male subjects' degree of progress in the assimilation process: perceiving his wife as satisfied with life in Australia, being satisfied with his job and conditions of employment, being satisfied with the climate and the standard of living (two important aspirations included in the statements of the reason for emigrating from Britain). A more detailed account of Richardson's findings will be given in the appropriate tables of results for the Dutch immigrants.

As far as the female subjects are concerned, Richardson's results suggest that 'a high proportion of wives enter Australia not so much because they have a desire to come to Australia, but because they have a desire to be with their husbands' (Richardson, 1961, p. 51). In view of this finding, we confined the Dutch replication study to men.

THE DUTCH STUDY

The sample was drawn from a list compiled by Eric Gough of all 'Dutch' households in Western Australia, using as his source all available lists and personal information from Dutch immigrants. Gough used these lists for a mail questionnaire survey of the assimilation and adjustment of the Dutch immigrants, for which he was able to get a 62 per cent return. The list for the 'Newtown' district appears to have been a complete accounting of every Dutch male immigrant in the district, including some who had to be rejected because they did not have a Dutch wife. The return by mail for 'Newtown' was 65 per cent. The purposes for which the 'Newtown' Dutch interview study was conducted included an interview validation of the questionnaire responses and a comparison between the questionnaire respondents and the non-respondents. These results will be reported elsewhere. A further aim was to compare the information obtained by an Australian and a Dutch interviewer, and for this purpose the subjects were allocated at random between the two interviewers. The only differences on factual questions occurred on level of education; some of the respondents to the Australian interviewer may have inflated their education by falsely claiming to have attended senior high school. Comparing the subjects who were interviewed by the Australian with those interviewed by the Dutchman, on the satisfaction variables the former came out slightly higher and on identification, considerably higher. Most of the acculturation variables were the same, but the Australian-interviewed came out higher on knowledge of English, as rated both by themselves and by the interviewer.

For the computations reported in this study the two sets of interviews were pooled. Wherever the results from the mail questionnaire study were comparable they tended to fall in between the results for the two interviewers, but in general they were closer to those for the Dutch interviewer. There is no justification on

4. The P.P.R. (Plus Percentage Ratio) represents an attempt to overcome the spuriously high reproducibility indices that result from using a small number of items with extreme marginals. Jackson has tentatively suggested that a P.P.R. of .70 represents a minimum level for the scale to be considered reliable (see White and Saltz, 1957).

theoretical grounds for claiming that the one or the other set of interviews is more valid; a case could be made for the presence of bias in either of the interactions, especially in the national identification questions—whether between Dutch subject and Australian interviewer or Dutch subject and Dutch interviewer. A careful test of systematic bias would require several interviewers, preferably representing different national backgrounds. In the present study, pooling the results for the two interviewers seems to be the most appropriate treatment of the data, as the results in the British study were also based on the pooling of interviews conducted by British and Australian interviewers.

The Sample

The total number of addresses visited was 56, but several of the subjects had left the district, some were not married to Dutch women, and one oblique refusal was met. Altogether each interviewer completed 20 suitable interviews, 14 of them with subjects who had previously answered the mail questionnaire. Here are some of the background characteristics of the sample. (The corresponding percentage for the British subjects is given in parentheses.)

Raised in a city of over 20,000 inhabitants: 68 per cent (77). Lived in Australia more than ten years: nil (14); less than five years: 25 per cent (49); mean period in Australia: 6.8 years (5.0 years). Age under 40: 48 per cent (45). Level of education primary only: 40 per cent (72). Present occupation manual (versus white-collar): 63 per cent (78). Has had some period of unemployment in Australia: 45 per cent (24). Has more than two children: 55 per cent (39).

From the point of view of a comparison of the adjustment of the two groups, the most important differences are the smaller number of more recent arrivals among the Dutch, their higher rate of unemployment experience, their larger families, and their higher education.

The Interview Schedule

The schedules were prepared to cover most of the basic questions used in Richardson's study of British immigrants and Gough's questionnaire study of the Dutch. In some cases it was necessary to vary the wording of one of these studies in order to replicate the other, but, even with this limitation, it was possible to collect sufficient comparable data to carry out the replications. The interview schedule consisted of questions covering the subject's age, background, educational and employment history, emigration history, satisfaction with various aspects of life, desire for self and family to spend the rest of their lives in Australia, identification with Australia, opinion of Australians, ability to adapt to Australia, knowledge and use of English, degree of contact with Australians, attitude towards the assimilation of immigrants in general.

The interviewers also administered two tests to the subjects:

i. The word list. This is the same as Richardson's test of knowledge of Australian slang (see Richardson, 1961, Appendix A). This consists of 20 words which are known to most Australians but to very few newly arrived British immigrants. The test uses the multiple-choice form, and, since it aims to find out how many slang words are known, rather than the subject's knowledge of English, the answer choices were provided in Dutch rather than English.⁵ In addition to this

5. The translation of this and of the next test to be described was rendered by B. Arens, with the informal assistance of some other well-acclulturated former Dutchmen.

test of slang knowledge, the subjects were asked to indicate whether they used the expressions cited 'frequently', 'sometimes', or 'never'.

ii. *Opinion survey.* Richardson devised a set of social and political opinion items that were shown to distinguish the norms of British immigrants from those of a matched Australian control group. The answers were scored according to whether they were closer to the typical Australian or to the typical British opinion. A second use of the questionnaire was to test feelings of identification with the opinions of the two groups by asking the respondents whether they considered that the typical Australian or the typical British immigrant would agree with the opinions which they held.

This questionnaire was obviously unsuitable for use with Dutch immigrants as it had been validated on British immigrants but, fortunately, it was possible to substitute for the items others which had been found by the author to distinguish the opinions of Australians from those of non-British European immigrants in general. Again, for the purpose of this study the items were translated into Dutch.

Thus each interview consisted of the interview schedule, the word test, and the opinion survey, and at the conclusion the interviewer completed a rating form summarizing his impressions of the respondent and his attitudes. The subjects were most cooperative and it proved to be possible to conduct most of the interviews without serious interference by other members of the families. The Australian interviewer was able to communicate directly in English with all of the interviewees except one, and the Dutch interviewer needed to use Dutch in only a few instances in order to explain a point more quickly. The mean time per interview was one and a quarter hours for the Australian and one hour for the Dutch interviewer, not counting informal social relations at the conclusion of the interviews.

RESULTS

A. SATISFACTION VARIABLES

The variables included in the Richardson scale of satisfaction are set out below in the form in which they were used in the present study. The comparative figures for the two studies are also given.

1. *How satisfied do you feel with life in Australia in general?* Dutch, 85 per cent satisfied ('fairly satisfied', 'very satisfied', or 'completely satisfied'); British, 90 per cent. For the Dutch, 15 per cent were 'completely satisfied' and 5 per cent 'very dissatisfied', and although comparable figures were not collected for the British it seems clear from test 5 (below) that there would be more 'completely satisfied' British immigrants than Dutch.

2. *Would you say that on the whole you are satisfied or dissatisfied with your present accommodation?* Dutch, 92.5 per cent satisfied; British, 84 per cent. The difference, which is not significant, may result from slightly different standards between the two groups.

3. *Except for possible holidays abroad, would you like to spend the rest of your life in Australia?* Dutch, 72.5 per cent 'Yes', 5 per cent 'undecided'; British, 83 and 7 per cent. Although we did not investigate to which country those who did not want to

stay wished to go, on other evidence it appears that the majority of the Dutch who did not wish to stay in Australia wished to go to another country rather than to return home.

4. *On the whole, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with living in 'Newtown'?* Dutch, 82.5 per cent satisfied; British, 71 per cent. These results are consistent with those for accommodation. Also, the informal communal life which the Dutch have set up in 'Newtown' may have helped somewhat to counteract the disadvantages which some of the residents of 'Newtown' feel as a result of its smallness and lack of facilities.

The next two entries are derived from a 'satisfaction chart', on which the respondents were asked to indicate for each six-month interval since they arrived, commencing with the date of arrival, whether they felt satisfied with their life in Australia. The points on the scale were: 'very dissatisfied', 'fairly dissatisfied', 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied', and in-between.

5. *Feels satisfied at present.* The figure for the British was 62 per cent 'very satisfied', but only 22 per cent of the Dutch came into this category. Therefore, for the purpose of scaling, the cut-off point was lowered to 'fairly satisfied', and 70 per cent of the Dutch then qualified. The satisfaction level of the Dutch was a little lower than the British but, at the adjusted scoring level, the two groups were comparable.

6. *Has never been very dissatisfied since he has been in Australia.* Many of the immigrants have had disappointments in the early days of their residence in Australia owing to such causes as poor housing, unemployment or inappropriate employment, or some other dashed hopes. This applied to 52 per cent of the British immigrants and to 70 per cent of the Dutch. In order to make the two groups comparable, the Dutch were regarded as satisfied if they had never been 'very' dissatisfied. On this criterion 42 per cent were satisfied.

A Cumulative Scale of Satisfaction

Using the six measures of satisfaction described above, Richardson constructed a cumulative scale of satisfaction using a Guttman-type of scalogram analysis. *Table 1* presents the corresponding data for a similar analysis of the Dutch data, the only changes being the use of the more comparable cut-off points on variables 5 and 6, and a variation in the order of the variables on the scale. To achieve comparability between the British and the Dutch studies on all the scales, cut-off points of items were fixed so that the scales could divide the subjects into the same proportions of those 'passing' and those 'failing'.

The results provide strong support for the value of a scale based on the six variables. Not only do the I.R. and P.P.R. indices confirm the scalability of the items, but they also improve on the corresponding figures for the British.

The high reproducibility implies that the scale consists of six items which measure the same dimension and provide a reliable total score of satisfaction. If a subject is not at least fairly satisfied now (variable 5) he was, with three exceptions, dissatisfied (variable 6) at some earlier stage. If he is at least fairly satisfied now, he is satisfied also on items 1-4, with only eight exceptions (out of 28). The best single predictor of the final score is item 1, general satisfaction with Australia, and the poorest predictor is item 4, satisfaction with living in 'Newtown'. In the case of at least one of the respondents, dissatisfaction with 'Newtown' was not a sign of lack

of assimilation; on the contrary, his dissatisfaction was based on the fact that there were too many Dutchmen there!

Intercorrelations between the Six Satisfaction Measures

Considering the extreme cut-off points of some of the variables, especially variable 2, we can hardly expect significant correlations between all of the variables. In fact, the following correlations were significant (Fisher's Exact Test) at the 5 per cent level: satisfaction with life in Australia (1) correlated with: desire to spend the rest of life in Australia (3), satisfied at present (5), and never been dissatisfied since being in Australia (6). Also, desire to spend the rest of life in Australia (3) correlated with satisfied at present (5). These five significant relationships compare with only two in Richardson's study—variable 3 with 5 and 6.

Making allowances for the slightly different scale scores used for the British subjects on some of the patterns, there were 78 per cent of the Dutch who were satisfied, i.e. who scored 4, 5, and 6, and 77 per cent of the British. It should be remembered, however, that on some of the variables the cut-off point for the British was more stringent.

TABLE 1 FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE PATTERNS ON SATISFACTION SCALE
(*Figures in parentheses refer to British study*)

<i>Response Patterns</i>						<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>Errors</i>	<i>F×Errors</i>	
6	5	3	1	4	2					
+	+	+	+	+	+	8 (20)	6	0	0	
+	+	+	+	+	0	2 (4)	6	1	2	
+	+	+	+	0	0	1 (1)	6	2	2	
+	+	0	+	+	+	2 (1)	6	1	2	
+	+	+	+	0	+	1 (3)	6	1	1	
+	0	+	+	+	+	1 (6)	6	1	1	
0	+	+	+	+	+	12 (14)	5	0	0	
0	+	+	+	0	+	2 (0)	5	1	2	
0	+	+	+	+	0	0 (5)	5	1	0	
0	0	+	+	+	+	1 (9)	4	0	0	
0	0	+	+	0	+	1 (2)	4	1	1	
+	0	+	+	0	+	0 (3)	4	2	0	
+	0	0	+	+	+	2 (2)	3	1	2	
0	+	0	+	0	+	0 (2)	3	2	0	
0	0	0	+	+	+	1 (2)	3	0	0	
0	0	0	0	+	+	4 (2)	2	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	+	2 (2)	1	0	0	
Total	17	28	29	34	33	37	40 (90) ¹	—	—	13 (57)

Index of Reproducibility (I.R.) = .95 (.89)

Plus Percentage Ratio (P.P.R.) = .76 (.59)

¹ 12 patterns have been omitted on which there was only one British case and no Dutch cases.

Correlations between Satisfaction Scores and Other Measures

The following significant relationships were found for the satisfaction scale scores, using tetrachoric correlations and Fisher's Exact Test of significance: satisfied with job prospects; feels as happy in Australia as in Holland; wife is perceived as being satisfied with her life in Australia; would like his children to spend the rest of their lives in Australia; satisfied with the standard of living in Australia. Other correlations which approached significance (significant at 10 per cent level) were: satisfaction with present job; satisfaction with education and future of his children;

satisfaction with number of close friends in Australia; has achieved as much in life as he expected since arriving in Australia.

There was no relationship between satisfaction and either length of residence in Australia or the age of the respondent. Nor was satisfaction related significantly to experience of unemployment in Australia, although there was a trend in the expected direction.

From the above correlations it seems clear that it would be possible to extend the satisfaction scale to include further items representing satisfaction in a diversity of life spheres, but our prime purpose was to replicate Richardson's scales rather than to produce new ones.

Comparison between Dutch and British Immigrants on Satisfaction with Australia

The Dutch have more reason to be dissatisfied in Australia: they have had more experience of unemployment since they arrived, and have had to face more difficult problems of adaptation to an alien culture. In general they are a little less satisfied, especially when their desire to spend the rest of life in Australia is considered—but this item probably has an identification-with-Australia component as well as satisfaction. There are some items on which the Dutch are more satisfied than the British. These are: perceived satisfaction of wife with her life in Australia, and satisfaction with accommodation and with living in 'Newtown'. Job satisfaction is equal for both groups.

To sum up, the Dutch are almost as likely as the British to claim *reasonable* satisfaction with life in Australia; however, they are much less likely to claim to be *highly* satisfied. In general, their rate of satisfaction is 70–85 per cent—depending on the operational meaning assigned.

B. IDENTIFICATION

1. *Perceived similarity index.* In the opinion questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate whether they considered that the typical Australian and the typical Dutch immigrant would agree with their own opinion on each of the 20 items. A positive answer for Australians and a negative one for Dutch was taken to indicate that the respondent was maximally identified with Australian ideas, and this answer was given a score of two. If the respondent gave a negative answer for Australians he scored 0 for the item and, if positive answers were given for both Dutch and Australians, he scored one. Thus the possible range was 0–40. The median score obtained for the Dutch subjects was 14, which compares with 16 for the British. It is difficult, however, to say whether the scores for the two groups are comparable as the items were different. A score of 12 was taken as the cutting-point, and 78 per cent of the Dutch passed this item, compared with 52 per cent of the British who passed when a cutting-point of 16 was used. The lower cutting-point was used for the Dutch on this test to compensate for item 3 (below) and to ensure a comparable proportion of Dutch and British who would be classified as 'identified' on the basis of the total scale scores.

2. *Do you feel yourself to be more Australian than Dutch by now, or do you feel that you have not changed very much at all?* On this national identification item only 7 per cent felt more Australian than Dutch, compared with an equivalent British figure of 38 per cent. In order to approach the British figure, all subjects were scored as passing this item if they had changed at all from a complete Dutch identification. On this criterion 42 per cent were classified as 'identified'.

3. *If a Dutch team of athletes or other sportsmen came out to play an Australian team, which side do you think that you would support?* Only 17 per cent preferred the Australians to the Dutch, or were neutral, compared with 23 per cent of the British sample.

A Cumulative Scale of Identification

Table 2 presents the cumulative scale patterns for the three identification variables. Once more we confirm the reproducibility of the scale developed by Richardson with a higher degree of confidence than existed for the original scale.

TABLE 2 FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE PATTERNS ON IDENTIFICATION SCALE
(*Figures in parentheses refer to British study*)

	Response Patterns			Frequency	Score	Errors	F × Errors
	3	2	1				
	+	+	+	4 (9)	3	0	0
	+	+	0	3 (4)	3	1	3
	+	0	+	0 (8)	3	1	0
	0	+	+	9 (11)	2	0	0
	0	+	0	1 (10)	2	1	1
	0	0	+	18 (20)	1	0	0
	0	0	0	5 (28)	0	0	0
Total	7	17	31	40 (90)	—	—	4 (22)

Index of Reproducibility = .97 (.92)

Plus Percentage Ratio = .88 (.77)

It is interesting to note that pattern +0+, which was responsible for several errors for the British subjects, did not occur with the Dutch. The Dutch do not support an Australian sporting team if they are still generally identified with the Dutch group, but the British might do so while still retaining their general British identification.

Intercorrelations between the Three Identification Measures

The only one of the three relationships that was significant was that between feeling more Australian than Dutch (2) and supporting an Australian sporting team (3). In Richardson's study this relationship was also found, but the Perceived Similarity Index also correlated significantly with variable 3 in that study.

If we use a scale score of 2 as the cutting-point, 43 per cent of the Dutch subjects are 'identified' with Australia compared with 47 per cent of the British. But, once more, we should remember that in the case of the Dutch only minimal standards were applied in determining a change to an Australian identification.

Some Further Correlates of Identification

There are at least three other measures which could be regarded as measures of identification, but which were not included in Richardson's scale. These are: nationality of friends (informal social identification), membership of non-ethnic organizations (formal social identification), and naturalization intentions. These have been shown in a study of Hungarian immigrants (Taft and Doczy, in press) to be highly loaded on an identification factor.

Naturalization intentions proved to be closely related to the identification scores.

Compared with the Hungarians, fewer of the Dutch (25 per cent versus 44 per cent) intended to become naturalized in the minimum time.⁶ Dutch immigrants who otherwise felt quite strongly identified with Australia still did not desire to become naturalized. Expressed reasons for this resistance were that they could not give up their loyalty to the Queen and Motherland, although in some cases the motives were more materialistically concerned with pensions. It is not known whether retention of nationality is a particularly strong Dutch characteristic, or whether it is associated with voluntary migration in general.

Having Australian friends, a measure of identification at the level of informal social groups, correlated .40 with the identification scale score, but this was significant only at the 10 per cent level. Membership of social and sporting organizations (ethnic Dutch versus non-ethnic) was uncorrelated with the identification scores.

It might be thought that younger persons would more readily change their national identification, but no correlation was found between age and identification.

Length of residence in Australia correlated .42 with identification, but this is significant only at the 10 per cent level. Educational level and experience of unemployment were not related.

An interesting relationship was found between reason for emigration and degree of identification with Australia: 18 gave reasons that referred only to the attraction exerted by Australia, 18 referred only to the 'push' given by some uncomfortable situation in the Netherlands, and 4 gave mixed reasons. Only 4 of the 'attraction' group were identified with Australia compared with 13 of the others. There is thus a highly significant negative relationship between having come to Australia because of its expected attractions and becoming identified with it. This phenomenon seems to bear similarity to a finding of Richardson that the ease with which his subjects were able to emigrate from Britain correlated negatively with their identification with Australia. Evidently where an immigrant has suffered frustrations in his country of origin, but is satisfied with his life in the new one, the process of changing his identification is facilitated. In this connection there seems to be more identification with Australia among refugee immigrants than among voluntary ones (see Taft and Doczy, in press).

Where the immigrant merely chooses between two countries, in both of which he could live happily, he is not likely to change his identification.

Comparison between Dutch and British on Identification with Australia

The comparable results for the two groups on the three variables used in the identification scale indicate that the Dutch are much less identified with Australia than the British are. Several reasons for this can be offered, notably, the absence on the part of the Dutch of a common loyalty to the British Commonwealth, their greater distance from the Australian culture, and their slightly lower general satisfaction. Overall the identification of the Dutch with Australia is quite low, since 58 per cent still feel themselves to be completely Dutch. It is worth noting, however, that almost half of the subjects claim to mix socially with Australians as much as they do with their own group. In this respect the Dutch in 'Newtown' are as much identified with Australia as the British are.

6. The question of naturalization does not arise in the case of British immigrants.

C. ACCULTURATION

Richardson defined acculturation as 'the acquisition and adoption of knowledge, beliefs, and behaviour patterns similar to those prevailing in the host society' (Richardson, 1961). To measure this, he used tests of knowledge and use of Australian slang, and convergence to Australian opinion norms.

1. Slang vocabulary. This score represents the number of slang words known correctly on the word list test. The median score was 10 out of a possible 20, compared with 17 for the British group (note that most of the British subjects would not have known more than a few words on arrival). Using 8 as the cutting-point, 80 per cent of the Dutch passed this item, compared with 86 per cent of the British who passed at a much more severe cutting-point of 13. In this connection it is noteworthy that, whereas Richardson found a significant relationship between these scores and length of residence in Australia (correlation $\cdot 50$), there is no relationship for the Dutch. Whatever it is that leads to knowledge of Australian slang among our Dutch subjects, it is evidently not merely the amount of exposure to it. Perhaps the explanation is that, so far, the Dutch have been concentrating on learning good English and have been avoiding slang.

2. Slang usage. This measure is not completely independent of slang knowledge, since knowledge is a prerequisite for usage, but there were several respondents who claimed to use more words than they actually knew. Like slang knowledge, this test correlated significantly with length of residence in Australia for the British (correlation $\cdot 70$) but not for the Dutch. The median score for the Dutch (out of 40) was 6.5, compared with 16 for the British. Thirty per cent of the Dutch passed this item (cutting-point 9) and 36 per cent of the British (cutting-point 18).

3. Opinion norms. The opinion questionnaire items were scored according to whether the responses corresponded with the Dutch or the Australian norms. Using a score of 9 as the cutting-point, 40 per cent of the subjects passed. These scores correlated significantly (tet. r 52) with length of residence in Australia, thus supporting the validity of the scale. In Richardson's study, the short 5-item scale of opinion norms which he used did not correlate significantly with length of residence, possibly because of the brevity of the test. Since the two tests are not comparable, we cannot compare the degree of acculturation of the British and Dutch in this respect.

A Cumulative Scale of Acculturation

The three variables above were scaled in the same order as in Richardson's study and the scale patterns confirm the reproducibility of the scale, which is, once more, higher than that for Richardson's original scale (Table 3). All of the errors occur either because the subject passes on the opinion norms test and not on slang usage and knowledge, or because he fails the opinion norms test and passes on the other two.

Using a rather stringent cutting-point, 3, 20 per cent of the subjects are 'acculturated'; this compares with 22 per cent of the British subjects (using different overall standards).

Correlations between the Acculturation Measures

Two of the three interrelationships were significant: slang vocabulary (1) and slang
s*

TABLE 3 FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE PATTERNS ON ACCULTURATION SCALE
(*Figures in parentheses refer to British study*)

	Response Patterns			Frequency	Score	Errors	F × Errors
	2	3	1				
	+	+	+	8 (20)	3	0	0
	+	+	0	0 (1)	2	2	0
	0	+	+	6 (27)	2	0	0
	0	+	0	2 (6)	2	1	2
	0	0	+	14 (19)	1	0	0
	+	0	+	4 (11)	1	1	4
	0	0	0	6 (6)	0	0	0
Total	12	19	32	40 (90)	—	—	6 (19)

Index of Reproducibility = .95(.93)
Plus Percentage Ratio = .85(.77)

usage (2); opinion norms (3) and (2). In Richardson's study the same two correlations were significant.

Some Correlations with the Acculturation Scale

There were several other measures used that appear to relate to acculturation. These are: ability to make the changes necessary to settle down in Australia; language used in the home, English usage (self-rating), English usage (interviewer's rating). The acculturation scale was not correlated significantly with any of these measures. Nor was acculturation correlated with degree of education, age, or length of residence in Australia, although the last showed a trend in the right direction, largely owing to the influence of the convergence on opinion norms.

Summing up the acculturation scale, it appears that, although the reproducibility of Richardson's scale was confirmed, this scale is less convincing than the satisfaction or identification scales. It is worth noting here that in Gough's factor analysis of the Dutch questionnaire data (unpublished research, University of Western Australia) he obtained an 'education-English language factor' but no acculturation factor (he did not use the three measures included in our acculturation scale). In this present study, degree of education and English usage (interviewer's rating) are significantly correlated, and we seem to have confirmed Gough's factor. Probably the acculturation scale could have been improved by including some of the educational and English knowledge variables. In fact, a scale of 'cultural adaptability' could have been constructed using English usage (interviewer's rating), opinion norms, and ability to make the necessary changes. These measures were all positively intercorrelated. English usage and adaptability also both correlated significantly with age; i.e. those under 40 had better English and were more adaptable. A scale based on these two variables and the opinion norms would be closer to Gough's factor than the acculturation scale is, but since our aim was to replicate Richardson's study, we shall base the subjects' assimilation on the latter.

Comparison between Dutch and British on Acculturation to Australia

On the question 'How easily do you think that you have been able to make whatever changes are necessary in order to settle down and feel at home in Australia?' the Dutch indicated much more difficulty than the British. The numbers reporting some difficulty in making the changes were 40 per cent for the Dutch and 12 per

cent for the British. This difference reflects an obvious difference in the amount of change necessary in order to adjust. The English language is obviously one outstanding difference, and even on the slang knowledge and slang usage tests the British were far ahead of the Dutch. The Dutch also probably have a greater change to make in values and norms than the British, but we have no evidence on this point.

AN OVERALL SCALE OF ASSIMILATION

If we conceive of assimilation as a process by means of which a person becomes less and less distinguishable from the other members of a group, then acculturation is rightly the last phase in that process. Richardson has argued that some degree of identification with Australia is, at least partly, a prerequisite to acculturation, and that satisfaction with life is a prerequisite to that degree of identification. His demonstration that it is possible to produce a reproducible scale based on the assumption of these sequences lends weight to his theoretical argument.

TABLE 4 FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE PATTERNS ON ASSIMILATION SCALE
(*Figures in parentheses refer to British study*)

	Response Patterns			Frequency	Score	Errors	F × Errors
	A. ¹	I.	S.				
	+	+	+	4 (11)	3	0	0
	+	+	0	0 (1)	3	1	0
	+	0	+	2 (7)	3	1	2
	0	+	+	13 (24)	2	0	0
	0	+	0	0 (6)	2	1	0
	0	0	+	12 (27)	1	0	0
	+	0	0	2 (1)	0	0	0
Total	8	17	31	40 (90)	—	—	4 (15)
Index of Reproducibility = .97 (.94)							
Plus Percentage Ratio = .87 (.80)							

¹ A. = Acculturation; I. = Identification; S. = Satisfaction

Accepting that the scales which we have developed for the Dutch subjects have the same implications as those in the British study, we have replicated the British results. The scale patterns are set out in *Table 4* using the cut-off points already described. Once more, we find that not only is Richardson's assimilation scale confirmed, but the reproducibility is even improved on. All of the errors are due either to the subjects being acculturated and satisfied but not identified, or to their being acculturated but not identified or satisfied. It is enlightening to look further at the deviant cases in each of these two error patterns. Both of the immigrants who were acculturated but neither satisfied nor identified had some tertiary level of education and were not able to obtain employment in which they could use their training. They were both described as badly adjusted by the interviewer, and they would like to go to some other country where they feel that their professional qualifications could be better used. The two subjects who were both satisfied and acculturated but not identified were well-adjusted persons who were particularly satisfied with their lives in Australia. They gave the impression that they had no difficulty in making the necessary adjustments to life in Australia and just felt no need to change their identification from the Dutch group to the Australian. This

description is consistent with the previously mentioned finding that a low degree of identification is associated with emigration purely as a result of the attraction of Australia rather than of dissatisfaction with Holland. We should, of course, need further cases to test the reliability of these speculations about assimilation types.

Correlations between the Assimilation Measures

Satisfaction and identification are highly intercorrelated; in fact, all of the 17 subjects who are identified are satisfied. Acculturation, however, is uncorrelated with either satisfaction or identification. This confirms the previous impression that the acculturation scale was not as successful when applied to the Dutch immigrants as it was with the British.

Some Correlates of the Assimilation Scores

In order to throw light on the interrelationship between the overall assimilation scores and some of the background and component factors, we correlated these using tetrachoric r (see *Table 5*). There were 19 subjects classified as being assimilated. Length of residence in Australia correlates positively with assimilation, but this is not significant. These results are similar to those for the British where the tet. r was .25, which was also not significant. However, the more rapid assimilation of the British is shown by the fact that 35 per cent of the subjects who had been in Australia for less than six years were assimilated, compared with 15 per cent of the Dutch. It should be noted, however, that none of the Dutch and few of the British had been in Australia for more than nine years, which is not a long enough time for contact with Australia to have had a significant effect on their assimilation. There was a highly significant relationship for the Dutch between length of residence in Australia and degree of identification for those who were satisfied with life in Australia. Thus, satisfaction acts as a 'barrier' that must be passed before the effect of time on further assimilation can operate.

It is generally thought that those under 40 assimilate more quickly than those over 40, and this has been found to be the case in other studies (e.g. Kent, 1953; Zubrzycki, 1956). In the British study there was a tendency (sig. .10) for this to be so, but this did not hold up for the Dutch. As we have seen above, *age* did not even relate to acculturation as measured by our scale.

Those who emigrated because of *attraction to Australia* rather than because of uncomfortable conditions in the Netherlands were low on assimilation. As suggested when this was discussed in connection with identification, assimilation is facilitated when the home country has a negative valence for the immigrant.

The more assimilated subjects took longer to interview than the less assimilated. Since this was not due to greater difficulty of communication—in fact, that would work in the opposite direction—it must mean that the better assimilated either tried to be more communicative, or were just more garrulous people.

The more assimilated tend to perceive Australians as friendly towards Dutch immigrants, but otherwise their attitude towards Australians is neither favourable nor unfavourable. Also, they do not favour pluralistic institutions such as special foreign language broadcasts for migrants—but then, being acculturated themselves, they do not need them personally.

No correlations were computed for the component variables that made up the assimilation scales, since they would have been contaminated with the final assimilation scores, but several other related variables are included in *Table 5*. On these

TABLE 5
SOME CORRELATES OF ASSIMILATION SCORES ($N=40$)
(*British figures are given in parentheses when applicable*)

<i>Correlate</i>	<i>Number Scoring plus</i>	<i>Tet. r</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Length of residence in Australia	22	.40 (.25)	—
Skilled and white-collar worker (versus unskilled)	25	.35 (— .23)	—
Young (under 40)	19	— .16 (.25)	—(10)
Longer time to conduct interview	20	.52	05
Reason for emigration was attraction of Australia (versus uncomfortable conditions in Netherlands)	18	— .52	05
Australians perceived as friendly towards Dutch immigrants	29	.42 (.03)	—
Has Australian friends (versus Dutch)	20	.23 (.08)	—
Australian friends easy to find	20	.23	—
Satisfied with number of close friends	23	.18	—
Comes from large city in Netherlands	27	— .48	10
Education beyond 14 years of age	24	.26 (.05)	—
Ever unemployed in Australia	19	.16 (.40)	—(05)
Overestimates number of Dutch in 'Newtown'	14	.05	—
Believes Australians know their job as well as or better than Dutch	19	.01	—
Believes Australians are educated as well as or better than Dutch	16	.11	—
Satisfied with his job	32	.06 (.24)	—
Satisfied with job prospects	24	.69	01
Wife satisfied with Australia	38	— (.35)	—(10)
Satisfied with children's education and future in Australia	18	.38 (.11)	—
Wants children to stay in Australia	32	.64	05
Naturalized or intends to be naturalized in minimum time	10	.88	01
Membership of non-Dutch organizations	15	.03	—
Considerable change perceived to be necessary to settle down in Australia	16	.06	—
Ability to make the necessary changes easily	24	.42	10
Some English spoken by respondent in his home	23	.33	—
Disapproves of non-English radio programmes for immigrants	21	.59	05
English usage (self-rating)	12	.41	10
English usage (interviewer's rating)	13	.48	05

variables significant correlations were found between assimilation and satisfaction with job prospects, wants his children to stay in Australia, naturalization in minimum time, and English usage (interviewer's rating). The first three of these variables were the most highly correlated with the assimilation scores, but they must be regarded more as manifestations than as causes of the degree of assimilation progress. However, in the dialectic of the assimilation process, the same phenomenon can act both as a manifestation of assimilation and as a stimulus to further assimilation. Thus, adopting the new nationality reflects, in most cases, considerable assimilation progress, but it may also lead to changed attitudes and opportunities which stimulate further progress.

A Case of Culture Shock

In conclusion, it is enlightening to look at one case that runs counter to the established relationships with assimilation. This is the case of a man who was young (under 40), who arrived before 1954 in Australia, had never been unemployed, and was employed in his normal occupation (skilled tradesman). Everything pointed to

a high degree of assimilation: he was satisfied with his job, his wife was satisfied with Australia, he perceived Australians as friendly, he left Holland because of its deficiencies and not because of the attractions of Australia, and he had a teenage daughter attending an Australian school. Despite all of these advantages and sources of satisfaction in Australia, he is not at all identified or acculturated. He does not wish to stay in Australia, nor does he wish his children to do so. The reason is clear: he is a man whose family has high cultural achievements, and for him material comforts can in no way compensate for the frustration of aesthetic needs. He is appalled by the ugly scenery of the district and by his failure to find friends with interests and values similar to his own. This case illustrates that, even though the general tendencies found in this study may be adequate when applied to the average case, they do not explain the person whose values and outlook deviate from the normal.

This particular subject is suffering from a state of 'culture shock' (Wentholt, 1956) in which his need for cultural well-being is violated. In her studies of Polish immigrants in Western Australia, Ruth Johnston found that a number of her subjects were influenced in their assimilation attitudes by feelings about the 'cultural superiority' of their own background culture. Several of the Dutch immigrants, exposed to the cultural poverty of a new, industrial, satellite town such as 'Newtown', also showed the same attitude. This problem of the 'lack of living-room culture', to use the colloquial expression, worried the Dutch in 'Newtown' more than it did those in the metropolitan area.

SUMMARY

Richardson has recently reported a study of the adjustment and assimilation of British immigrants in a small Western Australian industrial town. He hypothesized that the assimilation process can be divided into three aspects, satisfaction with life in Australia, identification with Australia, and acculturation to the culture. He further hypothesized that a certain amount of satisfaction is normally needed before identification takes place, and a certain amount of both satisfaction and identification is normally needed before acculturation can reach a high level. These hypotheses were supported by the application of cumulative scale analysis to data obtained in interviews with the subjects.

The main purpose of the present study was to replicate Richardson's investigation using another group, Dutch immigrants, living in the same town. The findings supported the earlier investigation, and, in fact, the reproducibility of the scales was higher for the Dutch than for the British in each case. The satisfaction and identification scales were clear-cut, but the acculturation scale was less convincing. None of the three scales correlated significantly with age or length of time in Australia, nor did the overall scale of assimilation, although there were some individual measures that did. For example, measures of cultural adaptability were correlated with age (under 40 years), and convergence to Australian opinion norms was correlated with length of residence in Australia. There is evidence that once the immigrants have achieved a certain level of satisfaction, length of time does correlate with degree of assimilation.

The only background variables that showed a positive relationship at all with degree of assimilation were: emigrated because of uncomfortable conditions in

Holland rather than because of attraction to Australia; satisfied with job prospects in Australia and never unemployed since arrival; good knowledge of English; comes from small town in Holland; rates self as adaptable.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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